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TRANSLATION

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Card names
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CONVERSATIONS IN VIENNA DURING THE FESTIVAL

TIME: From 27 July to 4 August 1959, 37½ hours of discussions and conversations including preliminary conversations, in general on various topics, in restaurants and during meals with groups and with individuals.

SOURCE: The principal group was made up of five people with whom Z and A met almost every day. In addition to this group of five, there were individual and group discussions with five other people.

SUBJECTS WHICH WERE TOUCHED UPON AND DISCUSSED

1. The Mood and Outlook of the Soviet Youth. The majority of those with whom we conversed spoke openly, revealed wide interests and were capable of carrying on an intelligent and objective conversation. Their approach to the evaluation of political, social and economic questions, as also to the analysis the present international situation, is based upon Marxist teachings and leans toward official Communist principles which agree with the Soviet line. In some of the individuals, as for instance Leonid KARPENKO, one could detect an idealistic belief in socialism and its justness. He stated his belief in collective life in general. He believes that the USSR will reach and surpass the United States, although "not sooner than in about 15 or 20 years." Some of the individuals also revealed an enthusiasm in the establishment and building of a new world and belief in the individual.

The Western world to them is of necessity capitalistic and at the same time "reactionary". They do not have a true understanding of the situation as it exists in the West regarding the rights of workers, unions, social services, and so forth. They also fail to understand and are not able to compare the meaning of freedom in the West with the meaning of freedom in the USSR. They are not able to do so because they never had and do not now enjoy freedom in the Western sense. Therefore, for instance, they consider that a more-than-one party system is absolutely chaotic because "the parties are concerned only with their own interests and do not care about the people."

Practically none of them revealed any great interest in the material aspects of life and they tried to sidestep any agitations.

They did not like the agitative-aggressive approach of some of the people who tried to engage them in conversations in Vienna. They criticized among others a woman KGB member who in explaining to them Western freedom overdid things and stated that "Here in the West every individual can do anything he pleases."

Leonid, an agronomist from Vinnitsa, stated that a large percentage of Ukrainian youth personally volunteers for going to the virgin areas. There

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were cases where men in the army had asked him to sign them up for transfer to the virgin areas as soon as they would complete their military duty.

2. Ukrainian Patriotism. This patriotism is revealed on a cultural basis and not politically. They take pride in the rapid rebuilding of the Ukraine after the war. They emphasize that this was an achievement of the Ukrainian people. They take pride in the industrial potential of the Ukraine. They emphasize that a greater number of Ukrainians take part in the local administration, in the educational and economic system. They would like us to see these achievements and invited us to come as guests, to see everything personally and to talk with the people. They reveal sincere amazement over how it is possible for one to remain in the West, so long. "Is it really possible to exchange our Ukraine for another world, our beautiful Ukraine?"

* Nelya STEFANYUK speaks with pride of the University of Kiev, of Professors ~~SHILERSKY~~ and ~~SHILAKHOVSKY~~, about her thesis, "The Right Bank Influence of the Ukrainian language on the Russian language in the 19th Century", about the high percentage of students who are studying Ukrainian. She is very happy over the fact that she will be teaching Ukrainian youth their own language and literature.

Mykola KONERATYUK was very pleased with the gold medal which he won at the Festival. He told me that ten singers from the Ukraine went to Moscow and 89 from other republics for the competitions. Of the 90 individuals, only 11 were sent from Moscow to Vienna. Nine of them were Ukrainian, of which, in addition to himself, Zoya KHRYSYTYCH and Yedya KIDENS won gold medals.

All those with whom we talked spoke good Ukrainian, although not all of them can write grammatically correct. One could not detect during the conversation or in their actions any inferiority complex.

3. Russification and Attitude Toward the Russians. During the conversations one could feel that the wide-spread, long-lived, one-way propaganda line and indoctrination themes of "One Soviet nation" and "the equality among peoples of the USSR" had their influence. The Ukrainian youth does not see the injustice being done the Ukraine by Moscow and when you bring their attention, for instance, to the facts of the small increase in the population of the Ukraine, the forced resettlement of Ukrainian girls to Kazakhstan whom they quarter together with Russian men, the lack of Ukrainian language schools for Ukrainians in the RSFSR when at the same time Russians in the Ukraine enjoy more rights than do the Ukrainians themselves, they feel themselves overtaken and at first try to defend themselves with Soviet slogans and later remain silent or agree with you. I did not find any dislike for or prejudices against the Russians in any of those with whom we talked. They consider that at present there are no Russification policies because, in comparison with the past, there are Ukrainian schools in the Ukraine, the Ukrainian press, books, publications and one is free to use the Ukrainian language any place. They all try to learn the Russian language because it is the language of the Soviet Union and it is difficult to get along without it, but every good Ukrainian also knows the Ukrainian language very well.

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They interpreted as "democratic" the school law which gives parents the right to choose the school in the Ukraine which the children will attend-- Ukrainian or Russian. Intelligent Ukrainians will take advantage of this law and will send their children to Ukrainian schools and they can refer to this law as their privilege to do so.

They interpret as follows the political aspect of the Ukrainian-Russian relation slip: Nations today aspire to become closer and work together. The Ukraine is tied to the USSR (Russia) economically and we are joined in our struggle for a better world. There are many Russians living in the Ukraine with whom we enjoy good relationships.

V. BOHUSYUK tried to prove the absence of Russification in the schools with the fact that of 190 intermediate schools in Volynia, there are only five schools where instructions are in the Russian language.

When the Georgian dancers appeared in Vienna, Mykola KAMBATUK said: "Ah, these Georgians are such nice boys. They do not like the Russians very much but they immediately made friends with us and stick with us all the time."

4. Living Conditions. All those with whom we talked stated that materially life in the Ukraine has been improving since 1953 and continues to improve. Wages and old-age pensions have increased considerably. The stores are full of radios and more television sets are seen all the time. There are long waiting lists for air conditioners and there is a long waiting period. Cameras, watches and motorcycles are being purchased at moderate prices. There also are more manufactured items, clothing and shoes, although not all are of a good make. The housing situation is not as drastic as in the past. There is plenty of food in the cities. People in the villages don't live as well (As one of them stated, "Things have improved even for the Kolhospnyk. It is true that the Kolhospnyk suffered greatly during the war years.") People in the villages do not have enough money and the prices on certain items are higher than in the cities.

5. Changes in the Ukraine since 1953. Those with whom we talked draw our attention specifically to the following changes.

A. The percentage of Ukrainians holding offices in the USSR are gradually increasing.

B. Greater independence of Ukrainian industry as a result of less control from Moscow.

C. Greater autonomy in the industrial and economic field, for instance, large industrial objectives today are determined locally, not in Moscow.

D. The Ukraine to a certain extent has its own 7-year plan to fill and the people follow with interest the statistical records which show how much of the plan has been reached and how much is left to be accomplished. V. BORISTUK and H. SHEVCHUK talked about the greater participation of the local population in the administration, in the educational system, and also in industry. Several years ago the number of local Ukrainians who took part in the rebuilding of the coal basin in Volynia was very small. Today more and more local Ukrainians are working there as laborers, engineers and various other professions.

A. AMERASHKO stated that immediately following the war the participation of the local elements in the Carpathian Ukrainians were practically nil. Today everything has changed radically. Local Ukrainians work as party secretaries, in the oblast administration and especially in the field of education.

6. Church and Religion. The most frequently expressed opinions in this category were as follows:

A. There is freedom of religion in the USSR. If anybody wants to go to church, no one will forbid him to do so.

B. There is no drastic form of religious propaganda. The anti-religious activities are of an educational nature and stem in general from Marxist theory.

C. Only the older generation is interested, and attends church. The attitude of the youth toward the church is not so hostile as it is indifferent and they are convinced that the church will die along with the older generation.

D. None of those with whom we talked were prepared to discuss principles of a philosophical character on the subject of the existence of God, creation of the world and so forth. Their criticism is aimed against the church as an institution and against the human weaknesses of the clergy and discards which we frequently find between preaching and practice. KOTENKO and AMERASHKO brought up examples of poor conduct on the part of priests. None of those with whom we talked were fanatically anti-religious.

During the discussion I brought up two questions:

A. The intent of Communism to become a special type of pseudo-religion.

B. The Communist system is made up of individuals who conduct themselves far worse than the so-called terrible priests.

7. The Question of War and Attitude Toward War. In discussions on this subject the following comments were expressed:

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A. The USSR and the USA possess an equal amount of military strength and they are convinced that there will not be a war in the very near future.

B. Many people in the Ukraine are convinced that the USSR today fights against the West by other means and that war is not necessary.

C. Some of those with whom we talked stated that the maintenance and building of military strength in the USSR continues on the basis of quality rather than quantity.

D. None of them believe that the USSR will start a war first.

E. The horrors of the last war are still so fresh in the minds of the people that the mere mention of the word brings fear.

L. KARPENKO stated that in the event of war he personally and many others like himself would without any hesitation take up arms in defense of the USSR.

8. Attitude Toward N.S. Khrushchev. The attitude of the people toward him is largely positive. The people respect him first of all because:

A. Living conditions have improved during his tenure.

B. He is a realist and not dogmatic.

C. He gets results because he places concrete aims and objectives before the people and not empty dogmas. The people give him most credit for the construction of living quarters.

D. He knows how to charm the people with promises of a new and better life, encouraging all to join together in the struggle for a better life.

E. The people talk about him as "unshakable", and lively. They say he interests himself with everything and goes every place. He is ware of the peoples' problems and their troubles. "You honestly wonder when he sleeps and eats."

F. The people tell many anecdotes about him. He is mostly referred to as the "Kukuruznyk."

G. There is little mention made and little known about his past.

9. Attitude Toward the Ukrainian Emigration. The attitude toward and opinion of the emigration of those with whom we talked was negative but not hostile. They expressed the following opinion about the emigration.

A. Most of the emigration is detached from the Ukraine and her present problems. They do not know what is happening in the Ukraine and they do not follow the changes which are taking place there.

B. Many of the emigres live in the past and judge the present by the past.

C. Many of the emigres are Ukrainians no longer. They have accepted a foreign culture and habits, and have been assimilated into another, not Ukrainian world.

They complained of the false propaganda of the emigre press.

V. KOTENKO insisted that in November 1956 there were no demonstrations or unrest in Kiev about which the emigre press wrote.

Andriy ANDRASHKO said that there were no uprisings in the Carpatho-Ukraine this spring in connection with the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Carpatho-Ukraine which he referred to as "Voloshynska."

In conversations on the subject of the emigres they were mostly interested in the activities of the emigration along the lines of the emigre press, educational publication activities and activities of the political parties. None of them accused the emigration of foreign intrigue, foreign service or treason toward the Ukrainian nation.

In reply to their arguments Z and A tried to:

A. Explain that the Ukrainian emigration is not like what the Soviet press presents it.

B. Convince them that among the emigres there are good Ukrainians and sincere patriots who want to help the Ukrainian people.

C. Make them understand that Ukrainian patriots in the emigration and Ukrainian patriots in the homeland should, to the extent possible, work together for the good of the Ukrainian cause. Z stated that he was able to a large extent to convince those with whom he talked.

10. UPA, Underground, Amnesty, Attitude of the People. They all know about the existence of the underground during and following the war. Those from the Eastern Ukraine were less informed and knew about the underground only in general terms. They know that the UPA also fought against the Germans. They have various names for the underground movement following the war: "Samostiynyky", "OUN Movement", "Bandera Movement", "Independent Movement".

L. KARPENKO stated that all of those who came from the Western oblasts to the Donbas were called "Banderovtsi" and that they were looked upon with suspicion. This is not true now. The militia had to protect some of the former underground members who returned from the prisons to their home areas. Some of them were even killed. Others are living and working in their home areas.

Natalia SREVCHEK mentioned that she was 17 years of age in 1941 and that she saw everything which was happening during the time when the underground was active.

A legend has remained regarding the UPA and it will take at least 30 years before everything will be forgotten. Today there still are vivid memories about the UPA.

A ANDRASHKO told about certain cases of "pardons" granted to nationalists just as pardons were granted at one time to Communists in the Carpatho-Ukraine. Those pardoned live in their home areas and are working. The young people consider the activities of the Ukrainian underground as "one of the historical events during the days of Stalin. They feel that these times have passed and they think, or maybe actually believe, that the days of Stalin will never return."

11. The USSR as a Ukrainian Nation. In reply to our question as to whether the USSR was truly a Ukrainian nation, those with whom we talked tried to convince us that it was. They used the following arguments: That the USSR is a federated nation and they can see nothing wrong with the fact that the central government concerns itself with certain matters leaving others to the jurisdiction of the republics.

In lengthy conversations on this subject the argumentations of Z appeared to have results specifically in such counter-arguments:

A. The Ukrainian government does not have full power and does not give sufficient consideration to the development of Ukrainian culture.

B. Cultural ties with the West are very poor. There is almost no publicity about the Ukraine in foreign languages.

C. Ties with Western educators, students and artists are made through Moscow and not through Kiev.

D. There is a lack of diplomatic representation, although in accordance with the constitution of the USSR such representation should exist.

E. There are no Ukrainian information bureaus in the countries where large segments of Ukrainian emigres live.

CONCLUSIONS AND EVALUATIONS (BY Z)

1. We should take advantage of every possibility and every opportunity for contacts, for the exchange of ideas and information, the study of the mentality and outlook of the Soviet youth and also the collection of facts and materials regarding life in the USSR.

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2. Strengthen to a maximum degree the format, content and effectiveness of our information and particularly the publications which are mailed into the Ukraine. The young Soviet individual is able to think critically and therefore our information and propaganda must be serious. We must guard against drastic statements, exaggerations, misrepresentations, inaccuracies and, in general, the black is white method.

3. Point out in special articles the weaknesses, defects and errors in the Communist system. It is necessary to write solid, critical-analytical articles for the young Communists and Marxists which would present to them all the weaknesses of Communism including an analysis of Marxism and the pitfalls which exist among theory and practice. Publish material for patriotic Ukrainian youth which would give documentary evidence of Russian centralization.

ADDITION

All those with whom we talked read with obvious interest the 19 May, No. 10/215 issue of SUCHASNA UKRAINA and the April issue of UKRAINEKA LITERATURNHA HAZETA. They were pleasantly surprised with the information carried in the publications regarding present happenings in the Ukraine and the USSR and the attention given by the publications to the Soviet problem. They also like the seriousness and style of the newspapers.

Volodymyr Mykhailovich KOTENKO (DUBOVENKO) (Based on Conversations with Z)

General Characteristics. V.M.K. (D) seems direct and sincere in his conduct, intelligent, quiet and moderate in his views. He is anxious to become engaged in conversations and has a great desire for news. During conversations, when he is alone, he expresses his opinions freely and very openly, although he requests "Don't print it anywhere." He is interested in the Ukrainian problem. His Ukrainian patriotism is sincere and deep but not complete and not always consistent. He is able to think for himself and accepts well-argued ideas.

Conversations. Z became acquainted with V.M.K. on 30 July and had four contacts with him at which time others were present and two when KOTENKO was alone, one of which was the last meeting and which lasted for four hours.

Subjects of the Conversations. Z brought up the following during conversations.

A. History of Ukrainian-Russian relations. Background of Russian centralization.

B. The beginning of the UkSSR. Lenin and Stalin in national politics.

C. National Communism, the NEP and Ukrainians-SHUMSKY, SKRYPHYK, KNYL'OVYI, famine in the Ukraine, purges, struggle of the UPA, forced resettlement, the millions of sacrifices in the building of socialism, criticisms of Stalin and Khrushchev and so forth.

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V.M.K.'s Reactions.

A. He did not deny centralized-obsequialist tendencies of the Russians toward other nations.

B. *SHUMSKY, *BICHYRNK and *KIVYL'OVEY in the Ukraine are considered as nationalists who wanted to eliminate the political influence of Moscow in the Ukraine and force the Russians out of the Ukraine.

C. He doesn't try to defend all the crimes of Communism. He agreed that everything I said was true but said that people make mistakes, especially in the early stages of building a system such as Communism.

D. Regarding Ukrainian patriotism he considered that the enemy of the Ukrainian people today is their indifference. There are many Ukrainians to whom "it doesn't matter" what language they or their children speak. Others, even true patriots, limit their patriotism to demands for the use of the Ukrainian language. He cited a well-known example in Kiev where a certain Ukrainian writer stirred up a fuss in the main post office when the postal employees refused to accept a telegram he had written in the Ukrainian language.

E. He confided that during the days of Stalin there was much dissatisfied faction among the people. "I personally and my closest colleagues are deeply convinced that if the United States had attacked the USSR during the days of Stalin the USSR would have collapsed within a few days.

F. Life now has improved for the people and they have hopes for even a better life. More and more people believe that the past will not return. The arbitrariness of the party, and specifically of the police, has ceased. He told about a schoolmate who is now employed as a raion prosecutor. He has a great amount of work because "in order to accuse an individual it is necessary to gather material evidences, to hear witnesses and so forth."

G. He drew attention to the fact that the youth know very little about the liberation struggle during 1917-1920 or about the leadership of the liberation movement. However, the elders speak of Professor M. HREUSHEVSKY with great respect.

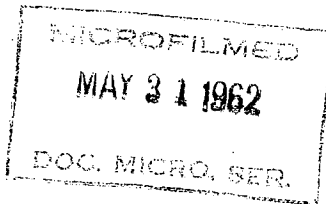
H. He stated that the people did not believe the official Moscow propaganda regarding the Hungarian Revolution. Moscow's intervention surprised the people in the Ukraine.

I. V.M.K. was not well informed regarding the Ukrainian emigration and he asked many questions on this subject. He got a copy of Djilas' book and wanted to take it back with him. In parting he said that he found much in common during our meeting and that he has a better opinion of the emigration than he had before. He insisted that I visit Kiev.

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Translation

ATTACHMENT 1



1 P
All individuals
names
Contacted by Accassaway
representative at
1959 Vienna Youth
Festival
cit USSR

List of those with whom Z and A met and talked

1. Volodymyr Mykhailo KOPEIKO ^{aka} (DUBOVENKO): Former secondary school teacher. Presently a journalist in Kiev. USSR
2. Leonid KARPENKO: Miner from Luhansk, ca. 25-26 years old. DOB circa 1934 USSR
3. Vasile BOHITSYUK: Salesman in a bookshop in Lutsk USSR
4. Andriy ANDRASIMKO: Secondary school teacher (language and literature) in the Carpatho-Ukraine. Age: ca. 32 DOB circa 1930
5. Leonid LIU: Agronomist from Vinnitsa

List of those who were present during some of conversations held with the above-listed

1. Nelya STETSYUK: Completed philosophy studies in Kiev and will teach at the University of Kiev.
2. Natalia SHEVCHUK: Works in a polyclinic in Lutsk. Age ca. 35. DOB circa 1912. Did not complete medical studies. Is a Party member - "It is necessary for me to belong to the Communist Party". She wears a Blessed Mother medal on her chest. She is talkative and shrewd. She must have been in Tarnopol (Podolia) because she seemed to be acquainted with some of the names of underground members.
3. Mykola KONDRATYUK: Soloist with Kiev Opera. We talked with him previously in Brussels.
4. Volodya LIU: Statistician in Drohobitch Oblast. Age: ca. 21-22
5. Oleksandr LIU: Teacher of Ukrainian language in Zaporozh. Age: ca. 26-28.

Note: They all stated that they came as tourists and had their trip paid for. They were asked in advance whether they would like to go to the Festival. They completed appropriate forms. They all (it seems) came through Kiev although not all at the same time. They traveled by train to the border of the USSR and had a 12 hour stop-over in Budapest.

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